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ABSTRACT

A study was conducted to find out how the topics of the Nineteenth Amendment and women's suffrage were handled at the time by news publications in rural areas. Several components were used to carry out the objective: one was to investigate newspaper coverage of the amendment and in addition broaden that search to include women's suffrage; another was to focus on newspapers in one rural community as a case study and to compare this coverage with that of other communities. Each edition of Marengo, Iowa's weekly newspapers during 1918, 1919 and 1920 was studied for any hint of information about the Nineteenth Amendment or women's suffrage. During those 3 years, nine announcements/stories and three visuals (without accompanying stories) were published in Marengo's different newspapers. In addition to the newspaper case study, an oral account was also obtained by interviewing a Marengo resident who was of voting age in 1920. Through her account of the time and issue, "it would seem" that Marengo residents were not informed about amendment debates and progress nor were they given interpretations of how suffrage could affect them personally. By studying the newspapers of three other towns ranging in size from rural to urban, a check was made to see what information nearby Iowa residents were receiving. Results suggest that Marengo's lack of information was not typical for that time period or geographic area, but perhaps was typical for a rural newspaper. (Two tables of data are included; 16 references and four appendixes of additional data are attached.) (MG)

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COVERAGE OF THE NINETEENTH AMENDMENT IN RURAL IOWA

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COVERAGE OF THF NINETEENTH AMENDMENT IN RURAL IOWA

The Nineteenth Amendment, guaranteeing the voting rights of 27-million American women,[1] was ratified 69 years ago on August 26, 1920, during one of the hottest summers recorded.[2] Less than three months later, women joined men for the first time at the ballot box for the Warren G. Harding/James Cox presidential election.

Ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment had all the ingredients of a large-scale news story: 1) women's suffrage had been a continual seven-decade struggle; 2) the amendment was an historical event signifying a break from societal tradition; 3) it was of national significance because it happened to all American women; and 4) because 27-million more people were eligible to vote in elections, their participation had a massive influence on educational, societal, domestic and political legislation and status.

Few studies have been found to examine newspaper coverage of debates and events surrounding the Nineteenth Amendment specifically,[3] and only a small number centered on newspaper coverage of issues and activities concerning women's suffrage generally.[4] In addition, most of these focused on city newspapers.

Researcher Linda L. Smith noted that "it was rather shocking to find so much coverage of the suffrage amendment" in the New York Times and the Indianapolis Star, because it had always been

assumed that editors were "less enlightened" than editors of today.[5] And in another national survey, Anne Messerly Cooper found that eight of the ten medium-to-large city daily newspapers published six or more stories within a five-day time period on the amendment's ratification alone.[6]

Thus, the purpose of this study was to find out how the topics of the Nineteenth Amendment specifically and women's suffrage generally were handled by news publications in rural areas at a time when there was no television and few radios.

Several components were used to carry out the objective: One was to investigate newspaper coverage of the amendment and another was to broaden the search to include women's suffrage because one worked for the ratification of the other. A third component was to focus on newspapers in one rural community as a case study and a fourth was to compare this coverage with other communities. The comparison might tell if coverage in the case study was unique or else helpful in predicting other rural communities' coverage.

Rural Newspaper Coverage Case Study

In 1920, almost half of the population lived in rural (i.e., farm) areas, thus there were hundreds of rural communities and newspapers from which to choose for a study.[7] Marengo, Iowa, was settled on as the case study for several reasons: A primary motive was that Iowa was chiefly a rural state[8] and Marengo was a rural community[9] typical of the 1920's -- one whose predominately-farm population totalled less than 2,500. Perhaps less important, but still a consideration, is that the researcher was interested in this community because family members from several generations ago had been owners/publishers of the current newspaper, The Marengo Pioneer-Republican, whose dusty attic housed a varied and tattered collection of most of the town's previous newspapers, some short-lived, others with long and solid legacies, and still a frail, sporadic few dating back about 150 years.

The now-silent yellowed chronicals of The Marengo Sentinel and The Marengo Democrat, joined in 1918 to become The Marengo Sentinel and Democrat, and The Marengo Republican were complete and uninterrupted for many years surrounding the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment and thus were the papers used in this case study.

Method

There was no sample survey but a universal count. Each edition of Marengo's weekly full-page newspapers during 1918, 1919 and 1920 averaged eight pages and was combed for any hint of information about the Nineteenth Amendment or women's suffrage.

Coverage of amendment progress and suffrage activity was expected to cloister around five dates:

* January 10, 1918, when the U.S. House of Representatives first approved the Susan B. Anthony amendment by one vote over the necessary two-thirds majority;

* June 4, 1919, when Vice-President Marshall, suffrage opponent, gave the chair to Sen. Cummings of Iowa, advocate of women's suffrage, to announce that the U.S. Senate had passed the resolution;

* July 2, 1919, when Iowa's legislature ratified the amendment in a special two-hour morning session with a unanimous vote in the senate and a 95-to-5 passage in the house.

* August 18, 1920, when Tennessee became the necessary 36th state to approve women's ballots. Women suffrage leaders forced adjournment before Speaker Walker could make a motion to reconsider the 49-to-47 house ratification vote.

* August 26, 1920, when the amendment was signed into law by Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby at 8 a.m. on a Thursday.

In addition to examining newspapers about the amendment, an oral history is included because what prompted this research were conversations with an old friend about the Nineteenth Amendment and what it meant to people, especially women, who could now vote. She was a young adult going to the polls for the first time in 1920, and remembered many historical moments well, such as the coming of the telephone, cars and the radio.

Results

During those three years, from 1918 to 1920, nine announcements/stories and three visuals (without accompanying stories) were published in Marengo's different newspapers about the Nineteenth Amendment or women's suffrage. Six of the

"stories" were really five-line news briefs that appeared in three editions. (See Appendix A)

Thus, a total of eight weekly editions from the combined three-and-then-two newspapers had amendment or suffrage announcements/stories during those 156 weeks. Put another way, that is eight out of an estimated 312 combined newspaper editions for the three years, the time in which an amendment, affecting half the nation's population, passed after heated debate in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1918, was approved by Iowa's state legislature in 1919 and became law in 1920, therefore, drawing a 70-year struggle to a close.

In 1918, The Republican published no information at all on the Nineteenth Amendment nor on women's suffrage. Only one edition of the The Democrat printed amendment news, and The Sentinel's one brief was not about amendment passage, but was an announcement on President Wilson's support of suffrage.

During 1919, The Republican again said nothing. And the newly-formed Sentinel and Democrat printed two papers with amendment and suffrage information.

By the end of 1920, still no stories emerged from The Republican, but it published a box titled, "The Facts About Woman Suffrage" (Sept. 9, 1920), simply listing states that ratified the amendment. The Sentinel and Democrat printed two editions with stories accompanied by photographs of suffrage leaders, and a third paper with no story but a photo of women celebrating victory and waving a very special 36-star ratification flag.

Discussion of Stories

News articles were mostly in the form of short announcements -- legislative business succinctly summarized within one paragraph. Information did not illuminate suffrage discussions, highlight points of debates nor relate ideas or happenings. A story appearing on January 17, 1918, in The Democrat, was typical: Toward the bottom of page two's news column, "For The Busy Man," was an unheadlined report --

> The house of representatives by a vote of 274 to 136 adopted the so-called Susan B. Anthony Amendment to the federal constitution for national women's suffrage. The resolution was carried by a single vote over the necessary two-thirds majority.

An unrelated paragraph on the selective draft law came next, followed by a short one on Senate passage speculation.

Iowa's ratification, more than one year later on July 14, 1919, was announced in The Sentinel and Democrat similarly:

> Iowa ratified the woman suffrage amendment at Des Moines. The senate passed by unanimous vote the resolution of ratification and the house voted 95 to 5. The entire session lasted only two hours.

Legislative procedure was then capsulized on the following page, in an unheadlined paragraph sandwiched between stories on "Iowa City's high school rifle team . . ." and a Waterloo couple who had "just separated for the second time."

Over a year of silence followed until August 24, 1920, when The Sentinel and Democrat reported that with Tennessee becoming the 36th state to approve the resolution, the amendment was law.

No more information on the Nineteenth Amendment was published. No mention was made of the political battles which

continued to rage for about eight days in Tennessee's legislature and in Washington before the amendment was signed into law by Secretary of State Colby.

On November 2, 1920, The Sentinel-Democrat printed its final story for the year about women's suffrage. Titled "A Woman President?" the journalist suggested, "It's an interesting question, anyway. . . . Are there women educated and trained sufficiently to fill important national and state offices? . . . We might do worse . . . and 'a new broom sweeps clean' you know."

Judging from the two newspapers' coverage, Marengo residents knew little about suffrage issues and were ignorant of Nineteenth Amendment events until decisions and events already had taken place.

Oral Account

An interview with a Marengo resident, of voting age in 1920, added to the "it would seem" posture of a lack of information on Nineteenth Amendment and suffrage activities. One-hundred-year-old Hattie Hursh had been a young farmer living with her husband on a hill north of Marengo. Although she was relating an event that happened almost 70 years ago, she remembered laughing and talking with another younger couple as the foursome rode the short jaunt in a buggy to vote in town. When prompted, she couldn't remember what information she received about the Nineteenth Amendment. She finally mused . . .

> Oh . . . I suppose voting was important. I didn't know too much about it. We didn't have a radio or television then, you know. . . . I guess I knew about it [the Nineteenth Amendment] from what I read in the local newspaper here in town. . . . I guess I just didn't think too much about it [women's suffrage].[10]

Thus, "it would seem" that Marengo community members were not informed about amendment debates and progress nor were they given interpretations of how suffrage could affect them personally on a local and national level, even though both newspapers took a national news service.

Coverage in Neighboring Counties

Smith's research and Cooper's study showed that metropolitan newspapers gave ample coverage to the Nineteenth Amendment -- an outcome different from this case study. Perhaps the reason was because of the dissimilar geographic or cultural parameters of their studied areas and this one.

Thus a check was made to see what information nearby Iowa residents, both rural and urban, were receiving from their newpapers about women's suffrage and amendment progress from 1918 to 1920.

Method for Comparison

News for urban residents (in Cedar Rapids) was sought to offset the rural environment of Marengo. Then two more neighboring towns, one urban (Iowa City) to compare with Cedar Rapids and one rural (Sigourney) to compare with Marengo, were used to check the findings. All four municipalities were county seats in southeast Iowa. (See Table 1)

The 1920 Census does not have population figures for areas with less than 2,500 people, a group under which both Marengo and Sigourney fit. However, the populations of their counties were relatively close. Although Iowa City did not have as many residents as Cedar Rapids, it was, and still is, the home of the University of Iowa and would have an added population not visible in the census records. Iowa City was also the former state capital.

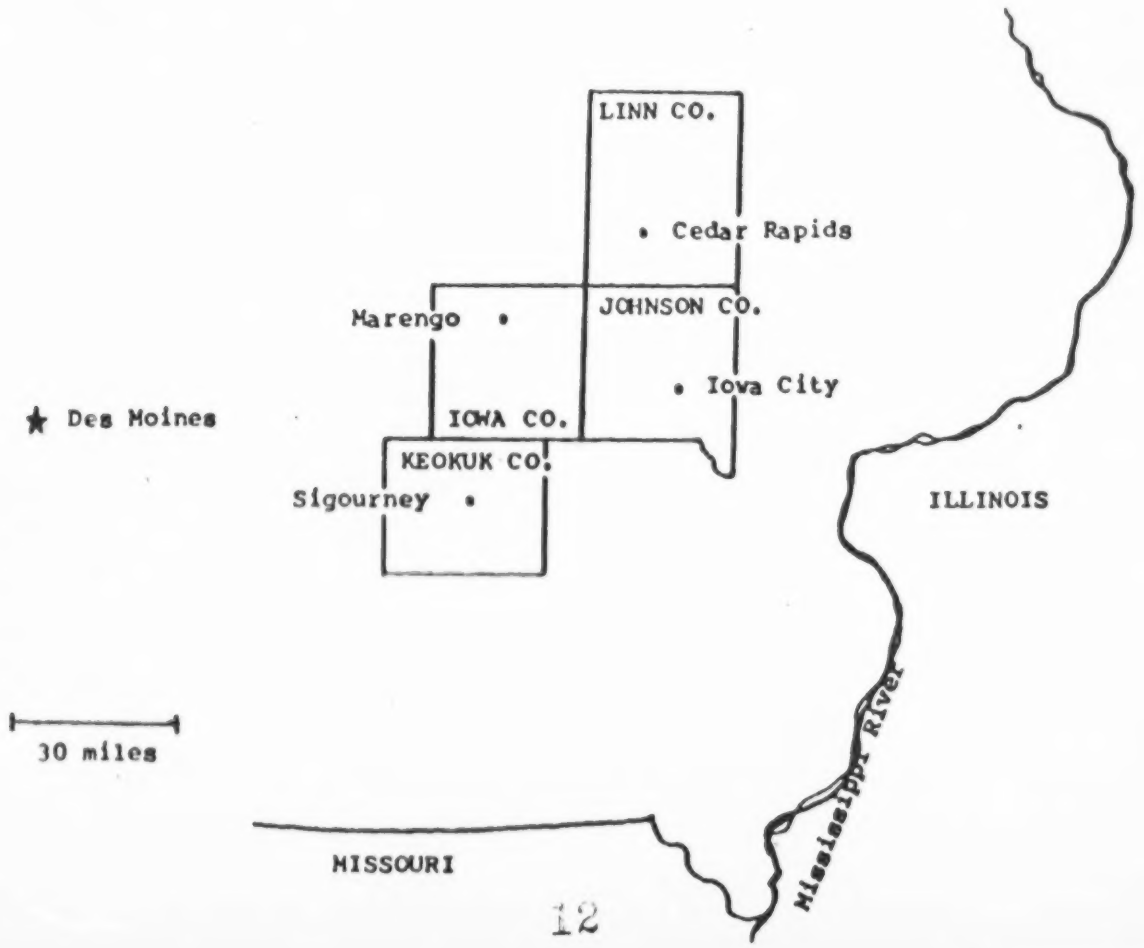
TABLE ONE

Iowa State, 1920

(Counties are drawn in proportion to state size.)

City Population	male	female	total
Marengo	*	*	*
Sigourney	*	*	*
Cedar Rapids	22,433	23,133	45,566
Iowa City	5,129	6,138	11,267
County Population			
Iowa (Marengo)	9,549	9,051	18,600
Keokuk (Sigourney)	10,665	10,318	20,983
Linn (Cedar Rapids)	36,890	37,114	74,004
Johnson (Iowa City)	13,123	13,339	26,462
Iowa State Total Population			
rural	794,726	733,800	1,528,526
urban	434,666	440,829	875,495

* The 1920 Census does not have population figures for areas with less than 2,500 people.



Population gender was also checked as this might say something about the type of news being targeted to an audience. Several hundred more men than women lived in both the rural counties of Iowa and Keokuk, whereas Iowa City had one thousand and Cedar Rapids had seven hundred more women than men living within their urban limits.

Newspapers with the largest circulation in each area were used for the comparison. The Cedar Rapids Republican and the Iowa City Daily Press covered the cities, while the weekly Sigourney Review and the Marengo papers had the largest circulation in their counties.

Today, townspeople commonly buy their weekly newspaper to obtain community news and a nearby metropolitan daily newspaper for added local or national information. Although the Cedar Rapids and Iowa City newspapers had special sections for some nearby rural areas, Marengo and Sigourney were not included and were rarely mentioned. In addition, the research suggests that the rural areas surrounding Marengo and Sigourney looked to Marengo and Sigourney's newspapers for their village news. Thus, information would not be omitted in rural newspapers with the supposition that people would be getting it from another one. It is also important to note that all four of these newspapers subscribed to a national news service.

Initially, each issue of both the Marengo newspapers during 1918, 1919 and 1920 was studied for any hint of information about women's suffrage or the Nineteenth Amendment. A similar examination then was made for each issue of the daily Cedar Rapids Republican to find out when coverage of women's suffrage

and amendment news was most visible. (See Appendix B)

As expected, the most news and information surrounded the dates noted in the Marengo case study when the amendment was passing through federal and state legislatures: January 10, 1918; June 4, 1919; July 2, 1919; August 18, 1920; and August 26, 1920. Thus, the frequency and amount of information in the four newspapers was examined specifically for January 5-20, 1918; June-July 1919; and August-September 1920.

Most amendment information in the Marengo papers were short reports under a "news briefs" section, which is similar to today's news briefs area. These bits of information have no individual headings, but are consecutive paragraphs with different topics of information. If the subject is deemed to be significant and important to readers, then it is elaborated elsewhere as a story unto itself. Thus, headlines--signifying editorial prominence--were counted for each newspaper. Headlines and cutlines accompanied illustrations and photographs and were included because these, too, were tallied in the Marengo study.

Only headlines dealing with the amendment were counted because, importantly, ratification progress was the measuring stick of suffrage activity success. Also, most information in the Marengo newspapers had focused on the amendment and not on women's rights. If city newspapers did covered women's suffrage, then presumably, the number of suffrage headlines would be relative to the number of amendment ones.

Counting just amendment activity headlines would remove doubt as to the point of the story. It was often difficult to

separate headlines denoting suffrage information from those meaning candidates and their parties' appeal to women as potential voters because suffrage was used as a campaign tool. This decision alleviated a lot of arbitrary decisions brought about by ambiguous and confusing wording. In all cases, the stories were read to learn the angle.

No editorials were included because some were uninformative, such as this one in the Sigourney Review:

> "In the future, they cannot tell us fellows what we [sic] would have done had we [sic] had the right to vote. We don't think it will make any difference in the elections, but it will divide the responsibility, which is something." (August 25, 1920)

Or, as editorials are allowed to be, were opinionated about women's rights, but still uninformative. Under the Cedar Rapids Republican editorial headline of "Women, Their Jobs and Their Missions" was the bias that women should "just marry the men" instead of complaining about being ousted from jobs. And that women are "happier in nice little homes, with children, dolls, dogs and cats instead of in mills and stores." (June 15, 1919)

Other editorials made no comment on the days that amendment passage made big news. For example, on the same day that it gave the top headline to Iowa's ratification, the Sigourney Review editorial talked about flying airplanes (July 9, 1919).

Results of Comparison

In counting only amendment headlines, results show that The Marengo Sentinel and Democrat published two headlines (one with a story and one with a photograph but no story) and the Sigourney

TABLE 2

Dates	Marengo Sentinel Democrat	Marengo Republican	Sigourney Review	Cedar Rapids Republican	Iowa City Daily Press
1918 Jan 5-20	0	0	0	3	3
1919 June/July	0	0	1	14	9
1920 Aug/Sept	2	1	0	17	44
Total	2	1	1	34	56

* **The Marengo Sentinel and Marengo Democrat were different newspapers in 1918, but joined in 1919. Neither had any headlines in 1918.**

* **Although the rural newspapers were weeklies and the urban ones were dailies, the percentage of headlines would still not be proportionately equivalent.**

* **Headlines appearing on page one (main headline or on lower areas): Marengo - 0; Sigourney - 1; Cedar Rapids - 28; Iowa City - 44.**

Review published only one. Marengo's headlines both were in 1920 and Sigourney's one was in 1919. (See Table 2)

In contrast, Cedar Rapids and Iowa City residents were often signaled to read stories on this topic. The Cedar Rapids Republican had 34 headlines and the Iowa City Daily Press printed 56.

The Cedar Rapids Republican and Iowa City Daily Press ran page one suffrage headlines around the dates when the resolution passed Tennessee's legislature and again when it was signed into law, while the two rural newspapers did not. Usually, if an event does not make headlines, it is because something more important has happened. However, except for the ending of World War I in November 1918 and the November 1920 presidential election, reoccurring subjects such as prohibition, politics, Bolsheviks, the League of Nations, the Treaty of Versailles were mainsteam (whereas the Nineteenth Amendment being passed into law was not) and were not events competing for space.

Discussion of Comparison

The Marengo Sentinel and Democrat had more information on the amendment generally (mostly in the form of news briefs) than the Sigourney Review, which had only one short story and one editorial during the three time periods studied. (See Appendices A and C)

Interestingly, the Iowa City Daily Press had more headlines on the amendment than the Cedar Rapids Republican, which covered the largest metropolitan area of the four newspapers. Perhaps Iowa residents were given more information because this college

town was a center of education, in addition to there being a lot of young people probably interested in government activities and voting rights. Many residents also might have wanted to keep abreast of legislative happenings because this was the former state capital.

Stories published in Iowa City tended to be neutral and informative whereas those in Cedar Rapids had more with a frivolous or negative tone, especially in 1920 when the most stories were published. (See Appendices B and D) Several examples follow . . .

While a June 2, 1919, headline in the Iowa City paper read "They're Political Equals Now," the only information for several days in the Cedar Rapids paper was the June 1, 1919, editorial: "Former Mrs. Cleveland Opposes Suffrage."

On August 7, 1920, the Iowa City Daily Press ran the "Complete Text of Acceptance Speech of Gov. Cox" including several paragraphs on women voters saying they "deserved" to vote because of their war efforts. Yet, Cox's speech ran in the Cedar Rapids Republican the following day omitting his women's rights stand.

On August 12, 1920, the Iowa City paper read "Suffragists Win 2nd Skirmish at Nashville Today." Nothing was mentioned in the Cedar Rapids paper except a story headlined, "Cruel Laws May Make The Local Feminine Voters Disclose Their True Age When They Go To The Polls" (which Cedar Rapids used as a story angle several times), and an editorial noting that just because women ask for the ballot, men do not have to stop being chivalrous.

Then, the Iowa City Daily Press ran a page-one headline and several stories and photos focusing on "Tennessee Senate Ratifies Amendment" on August 13, 1920. Cedar Rapids said nothing but had two editorials: "The Amendment Affects Only Third of Women" and "The Women Who Do Not Care Must Vote." By August 14, the Cedar Rapids folks finally were given news at the bottom on page one about Tennessee's house and senate voting with "Equal Suffrage Is Approved By Senate in TN Fight," and found editorials headlined with "The Women Who Are Opposed" and "When Women 'Leaders' [of Suffrage] Talk Foolishly."

One of the few times the Iowa City Daily Press injected a biased or frivolous tone with suffrage was with a photo headlined "Mother's Busy Now" depicting a woman reading the history of politics and neglecting her housework (August 25, 1920). About three weeks later the Cedar Rapids Republican had a drawing accompanied by "Will She Vote to Continue Democracy? She Will Not!" (Sept. 12, 1920)

Conclusions on Case Study and Comparison Papers

Whereas Marengo and Sigourney readers saw very little information about the Nineteenth Amendment and women's suffrage, those in Cedar Rapids and Iowa City were provided with far more news on women's rights.

Thus, results suggest that Marengo's lack of Nineteenth Amendment information was not typical for that time period or geographic area, but perhaps was typical for a rural newspaper. However, this is a small case study and results should not be generalized, but used to influence and promote further studies on rural newspaper coverage of national events directly affecting American citizens.

This study is significant because it sheds light on a meagerly studied subject in two ways: 1) it looks at coverage of the Nineteenth Amendment and women's suffrage and 2) it looks specifically at rural newspapers coverage of a national event.

Previous studies applied to cities were important because they added to the body of knowledge on coverage of this national event, but is it important to remember that about half the population lived in rural areas during this studied period. If one were to go by previous studies alone, then it could be generalized that readers received sufficient information about this event from their newspapers. This adequate coverage does not seem to be the case. Rural newspapers are different from metropolitan ones and this difference is especially critical at a

time when there was no radio or television from which to derive competing or added information in rural areas.

One could argue that newspapers were not the only source of information. However they were an important common source, setting agendas and giving people mutual topics of conversation. Although periodicals - magazines, journals and newsletters - were a viable source of national news, not everyone subscribed to these publications nor was certain information always available in them.

Initially it was thought that periodicals could be used as a background for this reseach. Popular periodicals during this time period that said nothing about the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment included: Harper's Magazine, The Atlantic Monthly, Scribner's Magazine, Current Opinion, Contemporary Review, Country Life, The Dial, Everybody's Magazine, Contemporary Review, Fortnightly Review, and others including farm journals. Vanity Fair and Collier's, The National Weekly ran some "poking fun" articles. The only publications found that published serious and informative stories were Woman's Home Companion, Good Housekeeping and The Nation.

Sometimes the benefits of research are not that answers are found, but that it promotes a new awareness and inspires more questions and ideas for future research. Some research ideas prompted by the present study are offered below.

Suggestions for Further Reseach

Mass communication researchers have suggested that one of the functions of mass media is the reinforcement of existing social norms.[11] Frequency and type of coverage contribute to readers' understanding and socialization of different segments of society and issues that affect them. Visibility of news promotes awareness, and the subject and type of coverage influence a particular impression of that segment's place in society.[12]

A beneficial study perhaps promoting a better understanding of the present study would be to examine the differing cultures of rural and urban societies in the early 1900s. One of the functions of the mass media is the reinforcement of existing social norms, and not everyone everywhere wants the same type and amount of information. For example, the Cedar Rapids Republican gave women's suffrage and Nineteenth Amendment news high visibility with alternating positive and negative overtones for its many varied subscribers. The somewhat less-populated, but education-oriented municipality of the Iowa City Daily Press received more consistently substantial and objective stories than the others. The rural Marengo and Sigourney newspapers were circulated among mostly farm people whose work was probably long and exhaustive, leaving little or no leisure time for them to pursue political avenues, such as women's suffrage.

Another project would be to test the mass communication theory that ideas and goals challenging or conflicting with the acceptable social pattern are not given much newspaper

coverage,[13] conceivably illustrating newspapers' function to reinforce social standards. The comparative lack of Marengo and Sigourney's coverage was possibly because rural people had limited access to new ideas, thus fostering a perpetuation of traditional conservative cultural beliefs. The conventions of the working class were more rigid than other classes, and just as rural areas were slow to procure goods, facilities and services, they were the last to be affected by changing ideas or institutions.[14]

A study comparing and contrasting rural and urban societies was suggested, but perhaps it would be more beneficial to examine women's roles specifically. The demographics and cultural society of rural people were different from the characteristics of city residents, and so were their information needs. Roles that rural women lived and the ways they were viewed were surely different from that of urban women.

The editors viewing these roles would have an effect on the type of information given to men and women. Were they male or female? In this case, all editors were male, so that in itself would not explain the varying amounts of information in the rural versus urban newspapers. Researcher Lauren Kessler had found that Portland editors' political leanings affected the amount of suffrage news in Oregon. However, while the Marengo Republican remained silent, the Cedar Rapids Republican published numerous stories about women's suffrage and amendment progress. Thus, the individual personalities and backgrounds of these editors would need to be investigated to gather more understanding.

An indepth study of suffrage activity in Iowa might be useful because that would allow one to compare the varying degrees of coverage to the varying degrees of area (rural and urban) activity. Opposite to what this researcher first thought, Iowa had an early history of energetic women's movements. Cursory research shows that during the 1850s, the Burlington Hawk-Eye often covered speeches of national women's rights advocates and activities of local women's organizations. Lecture tours were given in southern Iowa in 1854 by suffrage leader Frances Dana Gage and in the 1870s by Lucy Stone, Susan B. Anthony and Mary Livermore. The Sigourney Review announced that one of its residents, "Mrs. Etter" (relative of Sigourney publisher W.L. Etter?) was elected secretary to the county Equal Suffrage Amendment Association in 1919,[15] and each of the newspapers used in this study announced meetings of women voters.

Iowa was prominently represented by national women's suffrage leaders: Amelia Bloomer, publisher of the first journal of women's rights literature, The Lily, moved in 1851 to Council Bluffs, Iowa, where she did much of her work. Carrie Chapman Catt, National American Women's Suffrage Association (NAWSA) President when the amendment became law in 1920, grew up on a farm near Charles City, and earned her way through Iowa State College (now University) in Ames. A teacher and superintendent of schools in Mason City, Catt devoted years toward the procurement of full equality of women in all aspects of life.[16] Lesser known Iowa suffrage leaders included Martha Coonley Callanan, Mary Newbury Adams, Annie N. Savery and Lydia Sigourney.

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Research would show if the women's rights had different levels of importance for urban and rural dwellers in Iowa. Many suffrage leaders had a college education and were more able (time-wise and financially) to actively participate in their fight for women's rights. Attainment of changes in society and in relationships between men and women were their suffrage goals.

Perhaps rural women did not feel a need to raise their political status because they did not perceive an imbalance. Farming is a cooperative business where all family members worked at relatively the same job. Mostly likely the rural woman felt the same overall economic oppression that was shared by her husband, and contact was with rural neighbors much like themselves, having similar educational, financial, social and political standings.

Unfortunately, there are no figures for the number of women who voted in the 1920 presidential election, nor for whom they voted. Official records of this sort would suggest how many women, and in which areas, were interested in women's suffrage, political news and voting. In only one state, Illinois, was the vote counted separately. The Iowa City Daily Press did note that twice the number of people from the previous election registered in the city for the 1920 race and "50 percent" were women.

Summary of Case Study and Comparison

Because this research was confined to four municipalities in southeast Iowa, the sample is too small to make any sweeping statements. However, it strongly suggests the need for more extensive research comparing the objectives of rural and metropolitan newspapers during this time period. In addition, comparing early 1900 rural and urban cultures generally, and rural and urban women specifically would add to the interpretation of this study. Also, more studies are needed focusing on the roles of the different newpaper editors and their perspectives on news stories about and concerning women.

ENDNOTES

1. There were actually 26,883,556 eligible women voters. See Rheta Childe Dorr, "The Eternal Question," Collier's, The National Weekly 66, no. 18 (30 Oct. 1920): 24.

2. Mary Gray Peck, "The Secretary Has Signed" Victory: How Women Won It, The National American Women's Suffrage Association Centennial Symposium 1840-1940. (NY: The H.W. Wilson Co., 1940).

3. Anne Messerly Cooper, "Suffrage as News: Ten Dailies' Coverage of the Nineteenth Amendment," American Journalism 1, no. 1 (Summer 1983): 75-91;
Linda L. Smith, "Coverage or Cover Up: A Comparison of Newspaper Coverage of the Nineteenth Amendment and the Equal Right Amendment" (Presented to the Committee on the Staus of Women, AEJMC, 1984).

4. Sherilyn Cox Bennion, "Early Western Publications Expose Women's Suffrage Cries," Matrix (Summer 1979): 6-9;
Lauren Kessler, "The Idea of Women Suffragists and the Portland Oregonian, "Journalism Quarterly 57 (Winter 1980): 597-605;
Roberta Ora McKern, "The Women's Suffrage Movement inn Oregon and the Oregon Press (M.A. thesis, Univ. of Oregon, 1975);
Cecilia Mae Whittmayer, "Newspaper Coverage of the Women's Suffrage Movmement in S. Dakota at the Time of Statehood" (M.A. thesis, S. Dakota State Univ., 1979).

5. Smith, 23.

6. Cooper, see Table One, 88.

7, The 1910 census was the last to show a majority of the population rural.
By 1920, for every 51.4 ubanites, there were 48.6 rural inhabitants. O. Latham Hatcher, Rural Girls in the City for Work (Richmond, VA: Garrett and Massie, Inc., 1930), 55;
Also, a study by the U.S. Dept. of Agriculture in 1927 suggested an annual average net loss of 400 thousand farm people since 1920 in "Analysis of Population To and From Farms," Preliminary Report, 1927.

8. Iowa, a midwestern state in the cornbelt, grows corn and small grains and raised many of the country's hogs, sheep and cattle.

9. In 1910, practically two out of every three rural residents lived on farms. At this time, "rural" and "farm" were synonymous. Robert C. Beaker, Fern K. Willits and William P. Kurlesky, "The Meaning of 'Rurality' in American Society: Some Implications of Alternate Terms," Rural Sociology 30: 255-266.

Still in 1939, rural community was defined as "that form of association maintained between the people, and between their institutions, in a local area in which they live on dispersed farmsteads and in a village which is the center of their common activities." Dwight Sanderson and Robert A. Polson, Rural Community Organization (NY: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1939), 50.

10. Mrs. Hattie Hursh, personal conversation, Marengo, Iowa, April 1984 and July 1988.

11. Quote from Lazarsfeld and Merton in Monica B. Morris, "Newspapers and the New Feminists: Black Out as a Social Control?" Journalism Quarterly 50 (Spring 1973): 40.

12. Sentman, "Life in Black and White: Coverage of Black America by Life Magazine, 1937-1972" (Presented to AEJMC National Convention, 1983), 2.

13. See Banner, Chafe, Kessler, Kraditor and Morris.

14. Theresa Wolfson, The Woman Worker and Trade Unions (NY: International, 1926), 43;
Kirpatrick, 244;
Also, a 1941 comparison study of two Iowa communities becoming adopters or non-adopters of McLean's system of hog sanitation. He found the acceptors of the system were better educated, had higher social participation, read more experiment station bulletins, subscribed to more magazines and newspapers, participated more fully in cooperatives and the American Agriculture Association, farmed larger areas and had higher incomes. Neal Gross, "The Differential Characteristics of Acceptor and Non-Acceptors of an Approved Agricultural Technological Practice," Rural Sociology 14 (June 1949); 148-158.

15. "Suffrage Association," Sigourney Review 4 June 1919.

16. Peck, 145.

APPENDIX A

Merengo Republican

1918		Nothing
1919		Nothing
1920		
Sept. 1	P.11	Chart "The Facts About Woman Suffrage" list of states-(no story)

Marengo Sentinel

1918		
Jan. 22	P.2b	Unheadlined graph on President Wilson's support of suffrage Under "For the Busy Men"

Marengo Democrat

1918		
Jan. 17	P.2	Unheadlined graph on federal house approval Under "Important News in the World Summarized"
Jan. 17	P.2	Under "An amendment going to the senate"
1919		
Jan. 28	P.2	Cartoon - "Suffragists Organizing a New Amendment Drive" (Canons aimed at state legislature) Under "Washington Gossip Column"
July 14	P.26	Unheadlined graph on Iowa's Ratifying Amendment Under "News Notes"
July 14	P. 3	Unheadlined graph on Legislative Procedures of Amendment
1920		
Aug. 24	P.26	Unhealined graph on suffragists forced adjounrment Under "News Briefs" Unhealined graph about Tennessee's ratifying
Aug. 24	P.3	• Photo - "Nation Gets Equal Suffrage" (no story)
Sept. 21	P.6	• Photo - "Women Celebrate the Victory of Suffrage
Nov. 9	P.7	"A Women President?"

time periods used in comparison study

• Amendment headlines included in comparison study

APPENDIX B

Cedar Rapids Republican

time periods used in study

1918			
Jan. 10	*	•	WILSON FAVORS SUFFRAGE MEASURE
Jan. 11	*	•	HOUSE PASSES SUFFRAGE RESOLUTION
Jan. 11	P.5	•	Urged to Support Suffrage
Nov. 7	P.1b		Women Suffragists are Greatly Elated
Dec. 5	P.7		Good Meeting for Cause of Equal Suffrage
Dec. 25	P.1b		Women for England House of Commons Inject the Unusual
1919			
June 1	P.2	•	Former Mrs. Cleveland Opposes Suffrage
June 4	P.1	•	Debate in Senate Prevents Action on Suffrage Bill
June 5	P.1	•	Women Sufferage Passed by Senate Caused Rejoicing
June 6	P.1	•	Vice President Signs Suffrage Bill
June 7	P.1b	•	Wilson Congratulates Carrie Chapman Catt
June 11	P.1b	•	Michigan Ratifies Suffrage Amendment
June 11	P.1b	•	Makes Suffragists Extremely Happy
June 11	P1	•	Extra Session to Act on Suffrage
June 17	P.1b	•	New York Ratified Suffrage Amendment
June 17	P.1b	•	Ohio Ratifies Women Suffrage
June 25	P.1b	•	Texas Ratifies Women Suffrage
June 25	P.1b	•	Chicago Women Jubilant Over Suffrage Success
July 3	P.1	•	Iowa Ratifies the Suffrage Amendment
July 9	P.12	•	Photo - Urges State to Ratify Suffrage Amendment Soon
1920			
July 7	P.12		Photo - These Democratic Women Will Take Part in Presidential Campaign.
July 9	P.1		Women Balloting Creates Four New Precincts in City
July 10	P.1b		GOP Women Plan Chicago Headquarters
July 15	P.1		Says GOP Gave Women Vote in U.S.
July 16	P.1b		Photo - What Makes Suff Rage [sic]
July 17	P.1		Cox Promises to Urge Tennessee to Ratify Suffrage
July 18	P.14		There She Is, A Real Feminist (vote for own wants, not husband's)
July 18	P.14		Women Voters and Their Ages
July 22	P.1		Harding, In Talk Comes Out For Women's Ballot
July 22	P.1b		Ask GOP Men in Tennessee to Assist in Passing Suffrage
July 25	P.12		Men, Women, and Politics
July 28	P.6		Photo - Chicago Women Launch a Plan to Boost Harding
July 30	P.1		Iowa Democrats Charge Gaft at Des Moines...Almost a Suffrage Fight
July 30	P.12		Women Delegates Hold Meeting at Hotel Melrose
Aug. 4	P.1		Photo - National Womens Party Sends 500 Banners to Marion
Aug. 12	P.9		Cruel Laws May Make the Local Feminine Voters Their True Age When They Go to the Polls
Aug. 13	P.4		Editorial - Don't Stop Being Chivalrous (The Ammendment Affects Only Third of Women)
Aug. 13	P.4		Editorial - The Women Who Do Not Care Must Vote

* Top headline of the day
• Amendment headlines included in the comparison study
b Bottom of page 1 in newspaper

1920

Aug. 14	P.1	• Equal Suffrage is Approved by Senate in Tennessee Fight
		Editorial - The women sho are opposed
		Editorial - When women leaders talk foolishly
		Editorial - The women must vote in Iowa
Aug. 17	P.1	• Tennessee House Votes on Equal Suffrage Today
Aug. 17	P.1	• North Carolina Might Reject
Aug. 18	*	• SUFFRAGE ACTION IS DELAYED IN NORTH CAROLINA AND TENNESSEE
Aug. 18	P.1	• Prospects None Too Bright
Aug. 19	P.1b	• Women of Nation Victory Enthused
Aug. 19	P.1	Cox Certain Vote for Women Helps Democratic Party
Aug. 20	P.1	• Grand Jury Probe on Suffrage Vote on in Tennessee
Aug. 20	P.4	Editorial - A Story of Suffrage
Aug. 20	P.4	Editorial - Women Are Voters All
Aug. 21	*	• PATH TO EQUAL SUFFRAGE IS NOT ENTIRELY CLEAR YET, WOMEN DISCOVER
Aug. 21	P.4	• That Undue Suffrage Influence
Aug. 24	P.1	• Opposing Forces on Suffrage in Tennessee Rest
Aug. 25	*	• CERTIFICATE OF SUFFRAGE EXPECTED AT ANY MOMENT NOW
Aug. 25	P.2	• Drawing - Enfranchisement Now Meant the Sky's the Limit in Women's Sphere "Slavery" to Presidency in Ladder
Aug. 25	P.4	• Photo - Head of National Women's Party Celebrates Suffrage Ratification
Aug. 26	*	• ANTI SUFFRAGE FORCES JOLTED AGAIN
Aug. 27	P.1b	Women Should Not Form Party of Own Says Carrie C. Catt
Aug. 27	P.1b	Women About Half Interested on Vote
Aug. 29	P.1	Great Interest is Shown in First Iowa Women's Vote
Aug. 29	P.1	Women voters Get Snapped for Movies
Aug. 29	P.12	Why Not Treat Men and Women Alike
Aug. 29	P.18	Women Democrates to Have State Bureau
Aug. 31	P.3	Many Women Vote at School Election
Sept. 2	P.1	• Tennessee Senate Votes to Stand by Suffrage Action
Sept. 2	P.1b	• Colby Assures Women Suffrage is Theirs
Sept. 4	P.1	• Anti Suffrage is Again Shocked by Court at Capital (petition held after appeal decision)
Sept. 5	P.1	Not Interested in Women's Vote Says Aged Women
Sept. 8	P.1b	Drawing - Trying Out Her First Pie on the Boys (woman voter)
Sept. 10	P.1b	Council Bluffs Women to Run for Congress
Sept. 11	P.1	Women Voters of Iowa to Register Same as the Men
Sept. 12	P.1b	Women's Party Will Keep on Fighting
Sept. 12	P.5	That Famous Card Index of National Women's Party is Exposed for First Time
Sept. 12	P.14	Drawing - Will She Vote to Continue Democracy? She Will Not!
Sept. 14	P.1	Women Take Big Part (in voting for state governor)
Oct. 3	P.1b	Woman Enters Race for Legislative Seat
Oct. 10	P.1b	Women Organize to Vote in Illinois
Oct. 10	P.14b	Photo - Mrs. Boole Says Senate Needs Women
Oct. 13	P.5	Photo - Dispute Over League Articles Shows Women are Posted on Political Issues
Oct. 13	P.10	Women Students Learn Points of Citizenship
Oct. 16	P.9b	Photo - First Woman to Vote in 1920 Presidential Election
Oct. 20	P.1b	Pertinent Facts for Women Voters
Oct. 22	P.10	Oldest Woman to Register. Doesn't Mind Giving Age

Cedar Rapids Republican (con't-3)

Oct. 24	P.1b	Photo - Leading Lobbyist of Women's Party in Union [is a] Waitress
Oct. 27	P.9	Rev. Tipton Gives Talk to Club Women on Use of Ballot
Oct. 27	P.2	Women Not Required to Tell Their Ages
Oct. 29	P.5	Want Women to Vote During Day Hours Tuesday
Oct. 29	P.15	Women Voters Make Poll of the City
Oct. 31	P.1	Over 18,000 Total Register (7,400 women)
Nov. 3	P.11	Mrs. Ellen Lockwood, Cousin of Susan B. Anthony Votes
Nov. 3	P.15	Men Outnumbering the Women Voters
Nov. 6	P.1	Women Only Democratic Winner of Muscatine
Nov. 9	P.8	Women Prove Their Mettle in Doing Political Work

APPENDIX C

Sigourney Review

1918		Nothing
1919		
June 4	P.1	Suffrage Association
July 9	P.1	• Solons Ratify Equal Suffrage
1920		Nothing

• Amendment headline included in comparison study

APPENDIX D

Iowa City Daily Press

1918		
Jan. 5	P.2	• Women Suffrage
Jan. 11	P.1	* Measure Wins By Exactly Needed Vote
Jan. 11	P.1	• Women Suffrage Amendment Passes House 271 to 136
1919		
June 2	P.7	• Photo - They're Political Equals Now
June 5	P.1b	• Drawing - We Win!
June 5	P.2	Women Planning Big [political] Conference
June 7	P.3	Candidates Must Doll Up (To look their prettiest for women voters)
June 9	P.7	Hundreds of Women to Meet
June 10	P.1	• Ask Governor Call Session for Suffrage
June 10	P.1b	• Drawing - The Rest Are Easy
June 14	P.1b	• Iowa Women Ask Senate to Ratify League
June 16	P.1b	• Drawing - Kissing the Bride (Uncle Sam kissing suffrage bride)
June 17	P.2	Iowa Women's Big Conference
June 18	P.3	Womens Rights Agitate Ireland
June 26	P.7	An All-American Woman Congress
June 28	P.1b	• Texas Favors Equal Suffrage
July 2	*	* COMPANY A MAY ARRIVE HOME TONIGHT (Iowa Ratifies Suffrage Amendment)
July 2	P.1	• Both Houses of Iowa Solons For Suffrage
July 9	P.9	Women Priests Are Advocated
July 10	P.7	Exclude Women Boxing Matches
July 17	P.2	Invite Iowa City Women (to political meeting)
July 18	P.2	French Women Cannot Vote
July 28	P.8	Women Senators of Old
1920		
Aug. 2	P.2b	Photo - Suffrage Workers on Job
Aug. 5	P.10	• Photos - Vote Yes! - They Urge Tennessee Solons
Aug. 10	P.8	• Suffrage Amendment Introduced in Both Tennessee Houses
Aug. 12	P.1b	• Suffragists Win Second Skirmish at Nashville Today
Aug. 13	*	• TENNESSEE SENATE RATIFIES AMENDMENT
	*	POLISH MISSION TO MEET REDS AUG.14
Aug. 13	P.1	• (2nd headline) Suffrage is Ratified by Tennessee State 25 to 4
Aug. 13	P.3	• Photo - Cox Aides to Speed Suffrage Cause
Aug. 16	P.1	• Photo - Suffrage Works in Nashville
Aug. 16	P.10	• Suffrage Fate Known Tuesday
Aug. 17	*	RUSSIANS DRIVEN FROM WARSAW'S GATES
Aug. 17	*	• TENNESSEE HOUSE WILL VOTE TODAY
Aug. 17	P.1	* Expect Vote During Day on Suffrage?
Aug. 17	P.2	• Photo - First Pictures of Suffrage Session in Tennessee
Aug. 18	*	• TENNESSEE RATIFIES VOTE AMENDMENT
		GIVES VOTE TO ALL WOMEN OF NATION
Aug. 18	P.1	Number of Women's Vote in Iowa in Dispute
Aug. 18	P.1	• North Carolina Puts Suffrage On Till 1921
Aug. 18	P.1	• Women Triumph in Ratification of Amendment
Aug. 18	P.10	• Suffrage Has Close Shave in Tennessee Vote

* Top headline of the day

• Amendment headlines included in comparison study

b Bottom of page one newspaper

1920

Aug. 19	P.1	• Undue Influence is Charged in Accomplishing Ratification by Tennessee Legislature
Aug. 19	P.1	• North Carolina House Defeats Suffrage Today
Aug. 19	P.1	• Ratification Stirs Folks in Tennessee
Aug. 19	P.1	• Drawing - Equal Partners Now, Ma (Uncle Sam grasping suffrage hands)
Aug. 19	P.4	Editorial - Women as Voters
Aug. 20	*	• FORCE TENNESSEE HOUSE TO ADJOURN [Suffragists] POLES ARE REPORTED IN BREST-LITOVSK
Aug. 20	P.1	• The Anti-Suffragists Lose Chance to Reconsider
Aug. 21	*	• TENNESSEE OFFICIALS ARE ENJOINED FROM CERTIFYING THE RATIFICATION
Aug. 21	P.1	• Restrain Governor Roberts and Others From Certifying Suffrage • Victory in Tennessee
Aug. 21	P.1	• Fight Rages in Tennessee to Beat Suffrage
Aug. 24	*	• GOVERNOR ROBERTS CERTICIES RATIFICATION
Aug. 24	*	POLES CAPTURE 63,000 PRISONERS
Aug. 24	P.1	• Ratification is Certified by Governor
Aug. 25	*	• ASK SUFFRAGE PROMULGATION ENJOINED
Aug. 25	P.1	• Injunction is Asked in Court Against Colby
Aug. 25	P.2	• EXTRA! Anti-Suffragists Lose in an Attempt to Enjoin Colby
Aug. 25	P.4	Photo - Mother's Busy Now (Reading history of politics)
Aug. 26	*	• SUFFRAGE RATIFIACTION IS PROCLAIMED
Aug. 26	P.1	• Colby Signs Proclomation of Suffrage
Aug. 27	P.1b	St. Paul Women Get First Vote
Aug. 27	P.1	• Suffragettes Celebrates at New York Today
Aug. 28	P.10	• 2 Photos - Sewing Last Star to Suffrage Banner
Sept. 1	*	• MUCH SPECULATION AS TO TENNESSEE VOTE FOR REPUDIATING RATIFICATION
Sept. 1	P.1	• Tennessee House Tries to Back Down
Sept. 1	P.1	• Photo - Victorion Suffragists [sic] Celebrate as Mrs. Cat Returns
Sept. 1	P.10	Women's Vote is a Duty, Not a Right Says Feminist Englishman
Sept. 2	P.1b	Illustration - Now That Women Can Vote
Sept. 4	P.2	Women Voters Are Organizing
Sept. 7	P.1b	Women Voting in Wisconsin
Sept 9	P.1b	• Connecticut to Ratify?
Sept. 11	P.8	Women Voters Plan Big Rally
Sept. 13	P.1t	Eyes on Maine Men & Women Voting Today
Sept. 14	P.10	• Nutmeg State O.K.'s Suffrage
Sept. 15	*	• GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT REFUSES TO CERTIFY SUFFRAGE RATIFICATION
Sept. 15	P.1	• Governor Holcomb Holding Up Certification (of suffrage)
Sept. 15	P.1	Women Voters Plain Largely [sic]
Sept. 22	P.1	• Cox Fought Women's Fight in Ohio State
Sept. 22	P.2	Women Voters League Scores
Sept. 24	P.1	• Colby Refuses to Turn Down Suffrage
Sept. 24	P.1b	• Connecticut O.K.'s the 19th Amendment
Sept. 24	P.4	City Housekeeper Will Apply Hosekeeping Instructions to Politics
Sept. 27	P.9	Will This Make Women Forget Their Politics?
Sept. 27	P.9	She May Run for Congress
Sept. 28	P.1	Cedar Falls to Have Women on Election Board
Sept. 28	P.1	Mass Meeting of Women Here